

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 12238

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS (1)
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON PLENARY, AUGUST 9, 1978
(SALT TWO-1834)

REFS: (A) SALT TWO-1836, (B) SALT TWO-1828,
(C) SALT TWO-1835

1. AT AUGUST 9 PLENARY, SEMENOV'S STATEMENT (REF A) REAFFIRMED THAT DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION TO 2250 SHOULD BEGIN ON 30 DECEMBER 1980 AND PROCEED AT A STEADY RATE UNTIL COMPLETED. HE ALSO TABLED LANGUAGE -OR THE 5TH COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO ARTICLE II.5 (MIRV DISTINGUISHABILITY), SUBSTITUTING "MODERNIATZION" FOR "MODIFICATION," AND OMITTING "VICE VERSA" LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY US (REF B); HE SAID THAT "PROGRAMS UNDER WAY" MEANS BY TYPE, NOT BY INDIVIDUAL LAUNCHER.

2. MY STATEMENT (REF C) REAFFIRMED US PROPOSAL FOR REFERENCE IN THIRD SECTION OF JOINT STATEMENT TO STRATEGIC DEFENSES.

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3. AT POST-PLENARY, I SAID WE UNDERSTOOD SOVIET CMC PROPOSALS TO PERMIT ANY AIRPLANE, REGARDLESS OF BASIC AIR FRAME, TO BE EQUIPPED FOR LONG-RANGE CMS PROVIDED IT WAS "SPECIALLY BUILT" FOR THIS PURPOSE, BUT THAT CONVERSION OF EXISTING NON-BOMBER AIRPLANES TO THIS END WAS PROHIBITED. I ALSO QUESTIONED RATIONALE FOR SOVIET PROPOSAL ON CM FRACTIONATION. SEMENOV DEFERRED RESPONSE

BUT NOTED CMC QUESTION WAS ONE PART OF COMPLEX OF ISSUES DISCUSSED IN JULY. RE US STATEMENT ON SRAM ROTARY LAUNCHERS, SEMENOV ASKED, "DOES THIS MEAN THAT THERE WILL EXIST IN THE US OTHER NEW OR CURRENT CRUISE MISSILES WHICH COULD FIT EXISTING SRAM LAUNCHERS?"

4. HIGHLIGHTS OF OTHER POST PLENARY CONVERSATIONS:

ROWNY-BELETSKY/STARODUBOV. BELETSKY SAID THAT ONCE AN AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED THE SOVIETS WOULD GIVE BISON TANKERS FRODS TO SHOW THAT THEY COULD NOT BE USED AS HEAVY BOMBERS. HE ADDED THAT ALL BISON HEAVY BOMBERS WOULD BE DEACTIVATED, AND THOSE CONVERTED TO TANKERS WOULD BE GIVEN SIMILAR FRODS. STARODUBOV SAID THAT FRODS FOR BISONS WERE BEING DEVELOPED, ADDING THAT IT WAS A DIFFICULT PROBLEM WHICH WOULD TAKE SOME TIME TO WORK OUT. HOWEVER, WHEN THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED THE SOVIETS WOULD LET US KNOW. RESPONDING TO ROWNY'S REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION ON THE SOVIET POSITION AS TO THE USE OF TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT AS CRUISE MISSILE CARRIERS, STARODUBOV SAID THAT THE SOVIET POSITION DID NOT ALLOW FOR ANY CONVERSION OF EXISTING TRANSPORTS INTO CRUISE MISSILE CARRIERS, BUT "SCRATCH-BUILT" AIRCRAFT, REGARDLESS OF AIRFRAME, COULD BE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES. IN THIS CASE THE SOVIETS WOULD CALL THEM HEAVY BOMBERS AND WOULD COUNT THEM IN THE 1320 AND 2400 AGGREGATES.

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JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN. SHCHUKIN CONFIRMED THAT, WITH RESPECT TO SMALLER TRANSPORT TYPE AIRFRAMES, THEY COULD BE USED AS CRUISE MISSILE CARRIERS PROVIDED THEY WERE SCRATCH BUILT, HAD FRODS AND WERE LIMITED TO CARRYING 20 CRUISE MISSILES. HE EMPHASIZED THE FIRM REQUIREMENT OF THE 20 CRUISE MISSILE LIMITATION AND CONTINUED TO LINK THIS LIMITATION TO THE PROPOSED FRACTION LIMITATION FOR ICBMS.

OKUN-MCNEILL-HALLENBECK/SMOLIN-BOUKHOV. CONCERNING US PROPOSAL RE STRATEGIC DEFENSES IN SALT THREE, SMOLIN QUESTIONED WHETHER THE US WOULD BE WILLING TO DROP ITS REFERENCE TO THIS SUBJECT IF SOVIETS AGREED TO DROP "OFFENSIVE" FROM SECTION FOUR.

WITH REGARD TO MIRV LAUNCHER DISTINGUISHABILITY, SMOLIN OBSERVED THAT SOVIETS SAW NO LOGICAL NECESSITY TO INCLUDE VICE VERSA SECTION IN COMMON UNDERSTANDING. SOVIETS PREFERRED TO USE KNOWN TERM "MODERNIZATION" RATHER THAN "MODIFICATION," AND NO QUESTION WOULD ARISE AS TO ITS MEANING IN THIS COMMON UNDERSTANDING SINCE SIDES HAVE

IN MIND PRINCIPAL OBSERVABLE DESIGN FEATURES OF THE
LAUNCHERS IN QUESTION.
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OKUN REMINDED SMOLIN THAT US WAS AWAITING RESPONSE TO ITS
NON-PAPER OF JULY 20 RE DEFINITION OF "ENCRYPTION"/
"SHIFROVANIYE." SMOLIN RESPONDED THAT SOVIETS HAD NO
PROBLEM WITH MEANING OF TERM; HE IMPLIED SINCE THIS

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MATTER WAS ALREADY AGREED, SOVIETS SAW NO REASON FOR US-
PROPOSED SECOND COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO ARTICLE XV.

WHITMAN/PAVLICHENKO: PAVLICHENKO STATED THAT IF STRA-
TEGIC DEFENSES WERE TO BE CONSIDERED IN SALT THREE,
ASW CAPABILITIES WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED. HE HINTED
STRONGLY THAT THE SOVIET INSISTENCE UPON DELAYING
DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION WAS BECAUSE ONGOING MILITARY
CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS WOULD REQUIRE HEAVY RESOURCES IN
1980 BUT NOT IN 1981. HE FORCAST THAT IN FUTURE THE
US WOULD SEE THAT ALL THE LAUNCHERS AT DERAZHNYA AND
PERVOMAYSK HAD BECOME OF ONE TYPE, NAMELY, MIRVED.

KANGAS-NORTON/BEKETOV-JOURAVLEV: SOVIETS ASSERTED THAT
ASW WAS A STRATEGIC DEFENSE JUST AS WAS AIR DEFENSE.
SINCE IT INCLUDED DEFENSE AGAINST THIRD COUNTRIES, AIR
DEFENSE WAS NOT A SUBJECT FOR BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.
SPECIFIC RAISING OF STRATEGIC DEFENSES IN JOINT STATEMENT
WAS DESCRIBED AS A POLITICAL ISSUE. IN ANY EVENT, EACH
SIDE WAS FREE TO RAISE ANY SUBJECT IT WISHED. JOURAVLEV

SUGGESTED THAT COMPLEXITIES OF LIMITING DEPLOYED SYSTEMS
MAY LEAD SIDES TO CONSIDER PRODUCTION LIMITS IN SALT
THREE. REGARDING LANGUAGE TABLED TODAY, SOVIETS SAID
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THAT THEIR TERM MODERNIZATION SUBSUMED US TERM MODIFI-
CATION AND ENCOMPASSES ALL CHANGES -- EVEN WIRING --
EXCEPT CONVERSION. THEY OMITTED "VICE VERSA" CLAUSE
BECAUSE IT WAS REDUNDANT AND WOULD BE OUT OF PLACE SINCE
PARAGRAPH II.5 DEALS WITH MIRV LAUNCHERS. FINALLY,
SOVIET PREMISE REGARDING APPLICATION OF FINAL SENTENCE
OF COMMON UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT IF ONE LAUNCHER OF A
PARTICULAR TYPE, E.G., AN SS-17 LAUNCHER, HAD BEEN
MODERNIZED OR CONVERTED BEFORE DATE OF SIGNATURE ALL
OTHER LAUNCHERS OF THAT TYPE COULD BE MODERNIZED OR
CONVERTED IN THE SAME MANNER.

5. NEXT MEETING, AUGUST 15. EARLE

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